1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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so high and rank that the hunters were unable to get near the kangaroo. In this event, a senior man of the district might decide to convene a grass-burning posse. To it he invited more or less whom he pleased, so long as he included other household heads of the same band and other senior men from outside it whose ancestry gave them some claim to be invited. At the appointed time the hunters assembled, perhaps ten or fifteen adult men, with younger ones doing the actual hunting and the older ones supervising. The women and children acted as beaters; the grass was set on fire over a big area, and the kangaroos rounded up and killed while dazed by the smoke and the noise. The bag of animals killed in such a concerted hunt sometimes ran higher than one kangaroo per participant, so that every man, woman, and child present was able to gorge himself on kangaroo meat for a day or two. This sudden glut of meat was not, however, the main object of the burning, but a dividend. Even though few kangaroos were caught in the smoke and confusion, the burned-over area would provide good visibility for kangaroo hunting during the rest of the dry season, since the new tender shoots that sprang from the burned-over grass were a favorite food of the kangaroo and served to lure them out of the denser scrub areas and the mangrove swamps where hunting them was always difficult.

These occasional joint hunts, like the occasional small fights and the funerals of unimportant people, usually brought together only the members of households who lived relatively close to one another, so that while they are included in the list of events which interrupted household isolation, they did not, as a rule, involve any interaction between members of any wider group than the neighboring households. Perhaps the whole matter of activity beyond the household and the band can be illustrated best by an actual case. We have already mentioned the venerable Tu'untalumi, an old man resident among the Tiklauila, who as late as 1929, and despite the fact that by then the Tiklauila were the band most subject to mission influence, nonetheless had a list of twenty-one wives. In other ways besides his record of polygamy, Tu'untalumi was a pillar of the old culture. Though past seventy and much too old to hunt, he was a most enthusiastic and indefatigable song and dance composer, and in his zest for ceremonial he made a point of attending every big festival and as many smaller ones as he could get to. The whole tribe respected Tu'untalumi as a big man, liked him as a person, admired him for his steadfast support of Tiwi traditions, and most of all accepted him as a sort of leading authority on ritual matters. When dubious or disputed points of ceremonial were submitted to him, his decision, given clearly and firmly and with much citation of precedent and the distant past, was accepted without demur. His presence at a gathering located outside his own district was always a source of gratification to the household which had convened the gathering. The fact that Tu'untalumi had seen fit to attend not only made that household feel important but also provided its members with a technical guide and arbiter for unofficial help in running the rituals. The old man loved going to parties—and he was always a welcome guest—and years of such activity had given him such a sturdy, wiry constitution that despite his near-seventy-five years he could

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outdance and out-sing and out-party most of the men fifty years younger than himself.[6] 159 888

Since Tu'untalumi was a senior Tiwi household head who spent more of his time attending festivals, funerals, fights, and other collective occasions than did most of his contemporaries, it is instructive to examine his movements over a full year. If he had kept an engagement book during 1928-29, it would have looked something like this: 159 887

Early April (end of wet season): Leaves his home base in Tangio where he has spent most of the wet season and visits the Mission station to attend a few small funerals (children who have died at the Mission in the preceding months). During these funerals a series of fights and duels also takes place. Total people present: perhaps fifty or sixty. Time thus spent in helping to wind up public business: five days. Returns home to Tangio and remains there for rest of April. [797]

End of April: Goes to Rangu with a big party of other Tiklauila for a funeral (junior elder). Fairly big funeral, lots of people, lots of disputes. Time away, including leisurely journey to and from Rangu, about two weeks. Gets back home about middle of May. [764 166]

Middle of May—end of June: Lives quietly at home with his household in Tangio.

About July 1st: Goes to Mission for a few days, "visits" with whoever is there. Tries out a new composition of his own (song and dance) on group camped at Mission. Returns home for rest of July. [533 535]

Last week of July: Taking his younger wives and their children with two senior wives in charge of them, sets out for Malau for a big funeral with lots of people and fights. There he performs his new dance; is much consulted on ceremonial matters by the Malauila; gets into a few fights himself but handles them with dignity and honor; remains in Malau two weeks; stops off to visit and attend a small funeral with the Munupula on his way back; has a fight with a Munupula while there; returns to the Mission; stays there a day or two dispensing all the news from Malau and Munupi to those camped there; issues invitations for a grass burning in some sections of Tangio which were not burned in April or May. Goes on home to Tangio where some of his older wives have remained during his absence. Total time away: about three weeks. [166]

End of August: Is joined in Tangio by several other Tiklauila and Rangwila households whom he has invited. Grass burning and joint kangaroo hunting goes on for four or five days. Dancing and partying at night. After five days most of visiting group leave and he and his household remain alone in Tangio until well into October. [224]

[6] There is no suggestion that Tu'untalumi was in any way an official ritual leader. All old men, by virtue of their years, were to some extent ritual leaders; he had merely worked harder and longer at it than most of them. His tirelessly joyful personality had a good deal to do with his success in the self-established role. In a culture that might be thought likely to make all its men gloomy, anxiety-ridden introverts, he was a warm, happy, dignified old extrovert and he was widely admired. [156]

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Middle of October: Rains about to commence. Last chance for travel before the wet season. Goes to another district for the naming ceremony of a new baby (he is its mother's father, having bestowed the mother on the man now naming the child). Goes on from there to the Mission. Finds a large party there about to visit the Mandiimbula on Melville Island, ostensibly for a funeral but really for a big argument since Tiklauila-Mandiimbula relations were badly strained at this time.[7] Joins this party. They go in force to the Mandiimbula country. Big fight. He is not much involved in the fighting, concentrates on the dancing.

End of October: Returns to Mission. War party disbands. He returns home to Tangio and remains there until the initiation ceremonies begin in late January. During this period (November-January) makes occasional very short visits to neighboring households and is occasionally visited by neighbors who drop in on him from no great distance away.

End of January: *Kolema* phase of initiation begins. As guardian of ritual, he is in much demand by the various groups with boys of suitable age. All the Tiklauila and Rangwila households gather together (about 300 people) for nearly four weeks to conduct these ceremonies. Much feasting, much dancing, he in the center of everything. Very few fights or disputes, which is the way he likes it.

End of February: Finish of *kolema* season. Finish of ceremonies. Households disperse. He and his household return to Tangio and remain there for the balance of the wet season, which usually ends toward the end of March.

During the year for which we have listed the details, Tu'untalumi attended three big funerals, one big *kolema* ritual, and several small funerals, and made a few other miscellaneous visits to other districts. In addition, he was the host at a joint kangaroo hunt in his own district and attended the naming ceremony of one of his daughters' children. He also was a member of one war party. Although this hectic social whirl totals up to about thirteen weeks spent away from home or with a large party of guests in the home, even the busy and popular Tu'untalumi spent about thirty-nine weeks out of the year living alone with his household and seeing nobody except members of that household. Since there were few other Tiwi as gregarious as he, we may take this figure as an outside limit and conclude that the great majority of "big men" spent at least four-fifths of their time in the isolated environment of the single household, engaged largely in the daily routine of getting a living and supervising their wives and children in their unending food quest.

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[7] We have tried to keep out of the text those factors in the 1928-30 situation which were clearly due to post-white influences, and this friction was of that order. Briefly, Mandiimbula fathers with daughters bestowed on Tiklauila husbands were failing to deliver the girls at puberty to those husbands, hoping instead to hire them out as prostitutes to the Japanese pearling boats which periodically visited the Mandiimbula and Yeimpi beaches in search of women. See Chapter 6 for a full discussion of this outside influence as well as that of the Mission, which (for different reasons and motives) was also in the girl-buying business at this time.

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The mobility of people other than household heads was much less. Women and children could move only with the permission, and usually in the company, of their lord and master. Occasionally old and trusted wives might be sent, unsupervised, on a journey by their husbands or their brothers, usually to carry messages and bring back gossip, but young wives were never trusted to be out of sight either of the husband or of elderly female supervisors. Young men were less subject to their fathers' orders and hence were fairly free to come and go as they pleased, but the universal suspicion which all husbands bore toward wandering young men put severe restrictions on their mobility and prevented them attaching themselves to any household or camp in which they did not have some close relative.

The fact, then, that a man like Tu'untalumi was (in Tiwi terms) very mobile did not necessarily mean that members of his household shared his degree of mobility. When he took most of his large household with him on his journeys away from home, as he often did, it was always because he was going a considerable distance and was traveling slowly, living off the country as he went. In such cases he liked to have a large retinue to feed him on the way and also to permit him to entertain in fitting style when he arrived. For while it was true that at a funeral or at an initiation the relatives of the deceased or of the novices were supposed to take care of the feeding of all the visitors, nonetheless, wealthy and generous men like Tu'untalumi believed in taking along with them a bevy of young wives, with a couple of efficient elderly widow-wives in charge of them, to contribute to the food-getting and food-preparing activities. Of course the supervision of the young wives' morals in the strange environment was often difficult, especially in the hectic atmosphere of a big ceremonial, but this worry was compensated for by the fact that the visitor who came so attended was contributing a number of extra food providers to the labor force of the harassed hosts and thus making a generous gesture, and also by the fact that such a visitor was not dependent upon the hospitality provided by the hosts. Having his own food-producing unit with him, he could live better and stay longer than if he had come alone or only as one of a party of men. In this respect, as in so many others, a Tiwi household head's decision had to be reached by balancing against one another the two competing motives of, on the one hand, the desire to eat well and, on the other, the desire to keep his young wives safe from prowling bachelors. Ki-in-kumi, the wealthiest man of the Malauila band, usually decided not only to leave his wives at home but also not even to go himself. But Ki-in-kumi was a gloomy, pessimistic old man. Tu'untalumi usually decided to do the thing in style, travel with a large retinue, have all the comforts of home while in strange districts, and take his chances on the strange bachelors. He clearly believed that a good booming ceremony with lots to eat and himself in the center directing the dancing was well worth the risk of a few of his young wives being seduced off-stage. Men like Ki-in-kumi thought Tu'untalumi an old fool for not leaving his young wives at home, and Tu'untalumi probably thought that old Ki-in-kumi might as well be dead, especially since his death would be the occasion for a really magnificent funeral.

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The Beginning of Tiwi Careers

The Malauila in 1928-29 consisted of forty-nine males and sixty females of all ages. The males were divided into the following age groups:

20 years and below	28
between 21 and 30	7
between 31 and 42	7
between 43 and 55	4
over 55	3
Total	49

Of the twenty-eight males aged 20 or below, none had a wife of any kind, and none of them expected or were expected to have one. This group comprised the male children—boys and youths—and such males were of no importance whatever in the Tiwi scheme of things. They lived in the households of older men and were ignored by the male elders.

The next group, the seven men between 21 and 30, was the group of young men whom the elders were just beginning to take seriously. The younger of them were almost indistinguishable from the "youths," while the older of them were beginning to be watched by the seniors with some interest. Of the seven, six were neither married to a wife of any sort nor promised a wife. One, called Banana by the whites, was a man of about 28 and married to an ancient crone who was childless by three previous husbands, but she was in the category of "disputed" wife since her young husband had only been able to acquire and hold her because of abnormal circumstances arising from the presence of white buffalo-hunters on Melville Island some years previously. Under pre-white conditions, none of the seven men under 30 would have had a wife of any kind.

The years between 30 and 40 were the crucial years for Tiwi men in their establishment of households and careers. It was during this period that men normally married their first ancient widows and the "likely to be successful" became sorted out from the less-likely. As they passed into their thirties, men were allowed to enter for the first time into the influence game and, as the most junior players, they entered it by becoming subordinates and satellites of the bigger and more senior players, or by making alliances among themselves so as to pool their small individual assets.

In this age group in 1928-29, there were seven Malauila men ranging in age from around 31 to 42. One (Tiberun) was still unmarried and unpromised. He was thus (at age about 33) the oldest bachelor in the band. Not unnaturally he spent a good deal of time with other bands or at the Mission in the hope that his failure to get started in Malau might be remedied by elders of other bands or even by the priests. Tiberun was an older full brother of Banana, the 28-year-old married irregularly to a woman whom he had "stolen." A glance at their family tree revealed one potent reason why Tiberun

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was still a bachelor and why Banana had acted so impulsively and thereby gotten himself in the bad graces of the elders. The two men were the eldest of four brothers without any full sisters and as such they were necessarily handicapped in their career struggle. Elders seeking satellites or contemporaries seeking allies looked askance at men without sisters, for such men could have no sisters' daughters to use in the marriage-arrangements struggle. The mother of Tiberun and Banana was dead, but even were she still alive, few men would have been interested in marrying a widow whose only living children were sons. Widows without daughters and bachelors without sisters rated very low in the scale of desirable assets sought either by elders or by contemporaries.

Tiberun was thus the only bachelor in the 30-42 age group. Of the remainder we select Teapot as an example of another man who failed to get started. Teapot was at least 35, and about seven years previously he had "stolen" a wife from an elder. This wife was no ancient and shop-worn widow like the wife Banana had "stolen," but a young girl who had been betrothed in due form to an elder by her father. How Teapot had managed to get away with her is too complicated an incident to unravel here, and in any case it hadn't done Teapot much good. After presenting Teapot with a baby boy the young woman died, and Teapot, with a now six-year-old son, was more or less an outcast among the Malauila. No elder wanted him as a satellite and none of his contemporaries wanted him as an ally. His mother was dead and his only sister was married to a Munupula elder. This sister in Munupi was his only asset and one which a different man might have used as a means to better himself. But Teapot, instead of using this small asset to get started on a career, had chosen to defy the rules and "steal" an elder's bestowed wife. "Stealing" an old widow was reprehensible conduct in the eyes of the elders; stealing a young bestowed wife was unforgivable. Hence Teapot, since his crime, had received no bestowal, had been able to marry no widow, and was wanted by no one as an ally.

A complete contrast to these two unsuccessful men in their thirties was provided by the case of Gitjara, who was about the same age as Tiberun. Gitjara, it is true, had sisters, and that was always a help. Using his sisters (already married and bearing children to an elder) as bait, Gitjara when he was about 28 proposed an alliance to L. F. B., a rather feeble man about five years older than himself, who was not doing very well in the influence race. The gist of the proposal was that, since both their mothers were still alive and each married to an old man who could not last much longer, Gitjara should marry the ancient mother of L. F. B. when she became a widow, and L. F. B. should marry Gitjara's mother when that old lady became a widow. Perhaps the idea originated with the two old women rather than with either of the young men. Since such arrangements were essentially plots or schemes, it is impossible to determine who conceived them in the first place—old women ambitious to aid their sons or young men ready to use their mothers as long-term gambits to ultimately provide themselves with young wives. Mother-exchange operations were probably first conceived at high-level strategy con-

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ferences in which smart mothers and dull mothers, smart sons and dull sons were all present, and the final plan emerged from consensus.

In this case the former husbands of the two old women both died conveniently soon and within about three years of each other and, according to plan, there came into existence a household of two men in their thirties each married to the elderly mother of the other. Gitjara and L. F. B. thus set up jointly the foundations of their households and began their careers as a joint enterprise.

Gitjara had two sisters, both married to White Man, an elder, and already the mothers of daughters to him. By marrying Gitjara's mother, L. F. B. automatically became the nominal father of these women, and in the event of White Man's death would have, as such, some say in where they remarried. But the right of the step-father to redispose widowed step-daughters was always disputed by the brothers (or even sons) of the step-daughters, provided those brothers (or sons) were old enough or influential enough for their wishes to be taken seriously. Thus we may say that in putting L. F. B. into position as his own step-father, Gitjara's main object had been to get a satellite or henchman of his own into the position of step-father of his sisters (the wives of White Man) so that when they became widows there would be no conflict between the wishes of their brother and the wishes of their step-father as to whom they should remarry. L. F. B. as step-father was, so to speak, a stooge for Gitjara the brother.

Conversely, L. F. B. had two sisters both married to Ki-in-kumi, the most powerful elder in Malau. By marrying the mother of L. F. B., Gitjara became the step-father of two of Ki-in-kumi's wives, thus immediately (despite his youth) becoming technically the father-in-law of that powerful old man, and a man with some say in where those two wives of Ki-in-kumi would remarry on Ki-in-kumi's death. As step-father of such widows, Gitjara would have to make his wishes prevail as against the wishes of their brothers, but the only brother was L. F. B. and his vote was obviously in Gitjara's pocket.

By engineering this double shuffle of two elderly widows, each with daughters, Gitjara had launched his career as a marriage manipulator. Almost before it was concluded he became involved in another widow operation. We will omit the intricate details, but can say that he emerged from this with a second wife for himself, this one (naturally) also a widow but quite a young widow. This woman had already borne four sons and one daughter to her previous husband but was still young enough when Gitjara took her over in 1926 to bear him a son (her last) in 1927. In Tiwi terms the acquisition of this widow by Gitjara was a real achievement for the young man, not because of her comparative youth nor because of the son she bore him but because among the children by her previous marriage was a daughter aged about nine at the time she remarried Gitjara. To become the step-father of such a young girl was a real asset for the young operator. Her dead father had bestowed this child on Summit, another of the same Malauila age group of 30-year-olds and hence one of Gitjara's rivals and competitors in the influence struggle.

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This created an intriguing situation since Summit, having had this child bestowed on him at her birth some nine years previously, had thus acquired a bestowed wife at about age 27; Gitjara now 33 or so still had not received a bestowal. By remarrying the mother of Summit's young bestowed wife, Gitjara had turned the tables on one of his chief competitors among his age group. He could not, of course, alter the bestowal; in five or six years' time the girl would take up residence with Summit. But as the step-father who renamed the girl and the head of the household in which she would live for the next five years, Gitjara was in an excellent position to make Summit enter into a deal or two with him. He could drag his feet as to the time of the delivery of the girl to Summit; he could drop hints that there was something irregular about the bestowal to Summit in the first place, and so on; but whatever form of pressure he chose to exert on Summit, the latter well knew that all Gitjara wanted was to be cut in on some of Summit's deals and to be included in the network of Summit's alliances. The next move was now clearly up to Summit.

If Summit wished the nine-year-old girl now in Gitjara's household to be transferred promptly and without argument, he would be well advised to give some consideration to Gitjara, perhaps even the promise of one of his still-to-be-born daughters either as a wife or as a ward. Although not necessary, it would be a politically wise gesture. If he did so, both men would be gambling in futures. Since Summit's young wife was now nine years old, it would be at least six or seven years before she could produce a daughter (if at all) and another fourteen or fifteen years before any such daughter (if she lived) would be old enough to join Gitjara's household either as a wife or ward. Hence, under any such arrangement between the two young men, Summit would be giving something to Gitjara but in such a way that the latter could not collect for at least twenty years and might never collect.

Anthropologists will note that such arrangements still conformed to the patterns of cross-cousin marriage. Gitjara as *de jure* father delivers his "daughter" to Summit and thus becomes technically Summit's mother's brother or wife's father. Twenty years later (if all goes well) Summit delivers his daughter (by Gitjara's daughter) to Gitjara, thus becoming technically the mother's brother or wife's father of Gitjara. Gitjara himself might marry this daughter of Summit by his own step-daughter or treat her as a ward given to him by Summit and bestow her on some other man selected by himself; in the latter case he would be acting as father to his step-daughter's daughter. There were no clan barriers to such an arrangement, since fathers had to belong to clans different from those of their wives and of their daughters, step-daughters and daughters' daughters.

There were, of course, alternative actions or "deals" open to Summit and also to Gitjara, depending upon their plans in other directions. The pattern described above, however, was extremely common in Tiwi marriage arrangements, and often it was the reason why some very old man would receive some female infant as a wife: an agreement of this type had been made twenty or thirty years before, when the now senile old man was in his

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thirties and when the mother of the baby he was now receiving was married to some man long since dead. The circumstances were certainly right for such an arrangement in the Gitjara-Summit case of 1928.

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If we now pause and look at the marriage career of Gitjara at the point it had reached by the time he was 33, we can separate out three distinct types of operation in which this admirable young man had engaged. His first marriage, with L. F. B.'s elderly mother, had brought into existence a joint household of young men and elderly widows which not only was a very satisfactory housekeeping arrangement but also put Gitjara and his ally, L. F. B., in a position to exert some influence on all the subsequent remarriages of their respective sisters.

Gitjara's marriage a few years later to a second widow put him in a position to enter into marriage arrangements even more directly, since the second widow had a daughter promised to Summit but still too young to take up residence with him. By dragging his feet on the fulfilment of this promise, Gitjara could put pressure on Summit and extract from the latter some sort [584] of consideration to facilitate the delivery of the girl. Gitjara was thus well in the marriage-broker business before he had any children of his own and indeed before he had received any bestowal. This was the second type of operation for an up-and-coming young man, and it was one wherein a shrewd and aggressive operator would use the daughters of other men (that is, of a widow's previous husbands) in such a way as to attach all sorts of codicils and contingent interests and second mortgages to the original bestowal of those daughters, many of these collectable in full only in the far distant future, after all prior interests had been satisfied or had lapsed.

The third type of operation engaged in by Gitjara was, of course, to try and attract bestowed wives of his own. His vigorous operations, by age 33, in the widow remarriage field, were not only ends in themselves but also were the type of operation that attracted the approval of older men with daughters to bestow. Hence it is not surprising to find that by 1929 Gitjara, married to the two widows already mentioned, had received two bestowals. The older of these was a girl of ten rebestowed on Gitjara in 1927 when the man died upon whom she had been bestowed at birth. The second was a baby born in 1927 whose father was Tomitari of the Rangwila. (The choice of Gitjara as a son-in-law by Tomitari was so interesting that we shall discuss it later in this chapter.) Both these bestowals were made *after* Gitjara had engineered his remarriage of the two widows and as far as kinship was concerned had no connection whatever with these widows or their close relatives. We conclude, therefore, that widow remarriage could be used by alert and aggressive men in their early thirties for three purposes: (1) to establish households and obtain elderly housekeepers; (2) to establish low-priority rights in the daughters of the widows' previous husbands; and (3) to attract attention to themselves as smart operators and gain the attention and approval of older men. As an outgrowth of the third purpose, they were likely to attract bestowals. Hence we may say that among the Tiwi the best road to obtaining a [587] young wife or several young wives was for a young man to be first successful

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in the manipulation of the remarriages of elderly widows, who were always in large supply. If a man showed skill and know-how in his early thirties among the widows, then in his late thirties and early forties young wives would be bestowed upon him in abundance. Such a lesson could not have a better exemplar than Gitjara. By age 33 he had done so well among the widows that his first *young* wife would be joining his household by the time he was thirty-eight or thirty-nine, and another was already a year old. Clearly he was a young man of promise and one to be watched—and cultivated.

Summit, a man slightly older than Gitjara, must be dealt with very briefly, since the reasons for his success would take us too far afield. In 1929 he had a list of six wives, the only resident one being an elderly widow. The other five were bestowals and the eldest of these was the girl of ten whom we have already mentioned as being in the household of her step-father, Gitjara. Two more, younger than the ten-year-old, were in the household of Padimo (see below) and the remaining two were in the household of one of the elders of the Rangwila band. Summit, in Tiwi reckoning, was a Rangwila himself and had only moved to Malau a few years before. Some four years previously he had been a young Rangwila with no less than five bestowed child-wives. Three of these had been given him by an elder in Malau, two by an elder of his own band. The Malauila girls were older than the two Rangwila girls and his Malauila father-in-law was older than his Rangwila father-in-law. Summit therefore moved north to supervise personally his interests in Malau. He had, however, been out-maneuvered when the Malauila father-in-law died, since Gitjara had then been able to remarry the mother of Summit's eldest child-wife and Padimo had been able to remarry the mother of the other two little girls. Having thus moved to Malau to be near to and a satellite of his elderly Malauila father-in-law, Summit now found himself the technical son-in-law of two young men of his own age group who were among his keen competitors in the influence struggle. To ensure that his three promised Malauila child-wives joined his household when old enough, he now needed to make some arrangements with Gitjara and Padimo. Summit had gotten his bestowals rather early and rather easily but he still had the problem of nailing them down.

While thus engaged in acquiring five bestowed young wives and trying to promote their safe delivery when ready, Summit had married a widow not much more than forty years old but childless by her two previous husbands.[8] Such a widow at least provided him with a food-getter and housekeeper and enabled him to establish a household into which his five bestowed wives would enter as they successively reached the proper age. Thus Summit's household in 1929 consisted only of himself and his *palimaringa* wife. Within the next fifteen years it would be increased by the addition of at least five young wives,

[8] Such women who had reached middle age without surviving children were called by a special term, *palimaringa*, in Tiwi and the term referred to childlessness rather than barrenness. Summit's widow, for example, had borne two children, both of whom had died in infancy, and she was classified as a *palimaringa*. When a *palimaringa* became very, very old indeed, the word changed to *timaringa*.

592 plus any new bestowals, plus any further widows Summit might find it to his interest (and power) to remarry.

159 584 557 Padimo, who thus enters our story as one of Summit's rivals and one of his nominal fathers-in-law, was also a Rangwila who had moved to Malau at the call of an elderly father-in-law. He presents another pattern of Tiwi upward mobility and one that was statistically more frequent than the rather tortuous road followed by men like Gitjara. Padimo had been chosen as a nephew worth supporting by old Ki-in-kumi, the wealthiest of the Malauila. The earliest proof of Ki-in-kumi's patronage of Padimo had come in 1925-26 when an old man died, leaving eight widows of very diverse ages. Three of these "widows," aged respectively 17, 13, and 9 at the time of the death of their first husband, were daughters of Ki-in-kumi. Being so young and their brothers being equally young, their father's right to arrange their remarriage was unchallenged and Ki-in-kumi reassigned[4] them as wives to young Padimo, then aged about thirty-three. The eldest of the three girls had already borne two female children to the dead man, these being the two girl babies mentioned above as having been promised to Summit.

As well as the three young widows, Padimo had also obtained at the same redistribution the oldest and most haggish of the dead man's eight wives. It was at the same redistribution that Gitjara had obtained his second widow (the mother of the girl promised to Summit). Thus through Ki-in-kumi's influence, Padimo had obtained four "widows" of the eight left by the man who died in 1925-26; Gitjara, working without a powerful patron, had been lucky to obtain one.

159 595 [604] Ki-in-kumi had subsequently followed up this initial selection of Padimo as a favored sister's son by giving further daughters to him as they were born. Consequently, by 1929 Padimo's wife list consisted of the following:

A. One extremely ancient widow.

B. One wife aged about 20, daughter of Ki-in-kumi, mother already of two daughters by a previous husband who, before his death, bestowed these daughters on Summit.

C. One wife aged about 17, daughter of Ki-in-kumi; had just had her first child (who lived only a week); had previously been bestowed on the dead husband of wife B, but was too young to join his household before he died.

D. Three more girls, daughters of Ki-in-kumi, the eldest about 12 and hence old enough to have been bestowed on the same previous husband as wives B and C; the other two aged 2 and 1 and hence born since his death. All three of these were still resident in their father's household.

[584 587] [4] It is difficult to decide whether such reassignments of female children by their father, on the death of the man to whom he had first betrothed them, should be called "betrothals" or "remarriages." We prefer the first word since such "child-widows" were usually reassigned by their fathers (if still alive) without any challenge to his rights to do so. They therefore do not differ from original bestowals at birth except for the awkward semantic fact that the man to whom such a "child-wife" was reassigned was technically her second husband.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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With a lineup such as this by the time he was thirty-six, Padimo was clearly in process of going places in Tiwi society. The only weakness one could see in his position was that it all derived from the favor of one patron, and no old man with daughters, other than Ki-in-kumi, had seen fit to bestow a girl upon him. It should be noted that in 1929, though Padimo had two young wives resident in his household, he still had no children of his own. His first child, born that year, lived only a few days. The only children in residence were the two girls promised to Summit by the previous husband of their mother. Their bestowal on Summit was a matter beyond Padimo's control though he could use them to force some concessions from Summit just as Gitjara could with the girl in his household. But as Padimo's young wives began to bear daughters of his own, his bestowal of them would be less encumbered by the commitments of any predecessor. While Ki-in-kumi lived, Padimo would have to consider his obligations to that old man and at least consult with Ki-in-kumi as to how he should bestow his female children, since any such children would be the daughters' daughters of the old man. Nor would the death of Ki-in-kumi leave Padimo entirely free to bestow his own daughters anywhere he wished. Many of the girls already given to him as wives by Ki-in-kumi had mothers who possibly, and brothers who certainly, would outlive Ki-in-kumi. On the old man's death, all of his numerous wives would remarry—some of the older ones probably to ambitious younger men—and these new husbands of the widows of Ki-in-kumi would begin interfering with and trying to alter the arrangements made for his daughters by the old man during his lifetime. Thus Padimo would find himself stuck with a group of new and antagonistic fathers-in-law in place of the old, indulgent father-in-law who had been responsible for his success so far. Padimo's problem was basically how to hold, after Ki-in-kumi's death, the favored position he had gained during the old man's lifetime through the old man's favor.

In the meantime, with Ki-in-kumi still alive and powerful, Padimo had the biggest and fastest expanding household among the Malauila men in their thirties. The only remaining man in this age group was Boya who was the oldest of them all, being at least 42 years old in 1928. As might be expected, his career illustrates some new facets of the Tiwi influence struggle.

Structurally the position of Boya was simple but politically it was complex. His father had been a henchman and satellite of Ki-in-kumi in the early career of that old operator and roughly had had somewhat the same relationship to the young Ki-in-kumi as L. F. B. had to Gitjara. Boya's father, the satellite, left only two widows (an indication of his mediocrity) and these two widows had been remarried by Ki-in-kumi, the patron. One of these widows was Boya's mother, and Boya was too young at the time to have any say in where his mother remarried. Ki-in-kumi's interest in marrying Boya's mother was not of course because he thus acquired Boya as a step-son, but because he acquired Boya's sisters as step-daughters. Step-sons were liabilities which new husbands had to take over in order to get rights in the real assets —the step-daughters.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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Some years later, when Boya had reached a reasonable age like 30, Ki-in-kumi had arranged for him to marry a very ancient and childless widow (*palimarluga*) more than twenty years older than himself. This was all that Ki-in-kumi considered he needed to do for his step-son, and in Tiwi terms it was almost a gesture of contempt and an open indication that Ki-in-kumi, by providing him with an old woman who was childless but could cook, was not interested in helping Boya toward a career. Since the joining up of Boya to the crone took place shortly after the death of Boya's mother, who had lived with her sons in Ki-in-kumi's household, Ki-in-kumi by producing the old widow for Boya was telling him in effect to get out and start his own household now that his mother was dead.

In 1928 we found Boya aged about 42 married to the crone of 65. But he, she, and Boya's younger brother of 24 were still living in Ki-in-kumi's household. Ki-in-kumi's detestation of him was notorious and yet Boya had by now no less than four young bestowed child-wives growing up elsewhere. No one of these bestowals had come from Malau but were bestowals from different fathers of baby girls in other bands. At first sight this presented a curious situation. Within his own band Boya appeared a complete failure, suffering so severely from Ki-in-kumi's hostility that he had received no bestowals and at age 42 did not even have a separate household of his own. But how could this judgment be squared with the four bestowals from elders of other bands? Clearly none of the causes of success so far analyzed fitted the case of Boya.

Further research into who lived with whom as distinct from who was married to whom revealed that not only was "the household" of Boya, his elderly wife, and his younger brother an integral part of the Ki-in-kumi "establishment," but also that Padimo with his "household" was part of that establishment. Padimo, like Boya, had one elderly wife but he also had five bestowed wives, all daughters of Ki-in-kumi. We said above that the two eldest of these five girls being now aged 20 and 17 respectively were in residence with their husband, while the three youngest, not having reached puberty, were still "with their father." Actual observation showed that this was an academic distinction, since the households of Padimo, the son-in-law, and Ki-in-kumi, the father-in-law, were parts of the same establishment. When one of Ki-in-kumi's daughters bestowed on Padimo became old enough to "leave her father and join her husband," she did not have to move her residence or even change her daily work routines. She merely sat at night around the campfire of her older sisters (Padimo's wives) instead of around the campfire of her younger sisters (Ki-in-kumi's daughters). She remained part of the same establishment.

Padimo, it will be remembered, was the young man whom Ki-in-kumi had attracted from Rangu to Malau by liberally bestowing him with child-wives. Padimo had thus moved into the northern band and by 1928 had moved right into Ki-in-kumi's camp, where he functioned as a sort of executive officer and heir apparent to the old man. In the same camp, though in a very different capacity, was Boya, the 42-year-old despised step-son. Many roads thus led to Ki-in-kumi's household, but before discussing the large establishment

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of that wealthy elder, we will first summarize, in Table I, the marital conditions of the eight young men we have been discussing.

TABLE I
THE MALAUILA YOUNG MEN IN 1928-29

Name	Age	Resident Old Wives (Ex-widows)	Resident Young Wives (Bestowals)	Promised Wives (Under 14)	Own Children
Tiberun	33	0	0	0	0
Banana	28	1	0	0	0
Teapot	35	0[a]	0	0	1
Gitjara	33	2	0	2	1
L. F. B.	38	1	0	1	0
Summit	36	1	0	5	0
Padimo	36	1	2	3	0[b]
Boya	42	1	0	4	0

[a] Teapot's "stolen" wife was dead.
[b] Padimo's first child, born in 1929, lived only a few days.

This table presents a summary of many of our earlier attempts at generalization. The only Malauila under the age of 43 who had a bestowed young wife old enough to live with him was Padimo, who was thus exceptionally lucky. Leaving out young Banana, five of the seven men between the ages of 30 and 42 had young females promised to them, but these were mostly babies or children who would not come into residence for several years. Six of the seven had married widows, mostly elderly widows, well in advance of the arrival of young wives and before any father had bestowed a daughter on them. Finally, and a point not made before, men of this age group rarely had any children of their own. The only entries in the last column of Table I are the irregularly born son of Teapot; Padimo's first daughter who died virtually at birth; and the 1-year-old son of Gitjara who was the last child born to his second ex-widow. Tiwi men rarely had young wives until they were around forty; they even more rarely had any children of their own before that age. Padimo's dead baby and Gitjara's 1-year-old son were exceptional; the zeros in the last column against the names of Boya (42), L. F. B. (38), and Summit (36) represent the normal situation for Tiwi men of such ages.

In terms of success (as measured by bestowals) Padimo and Summit (largely through the patronage of elders) and Boya and Gitjara (largely through their own operations) were the coming young men among the Malauila. Of the others, L. F. B. was approaching forty with few assets and no influence, and the other three, Tiberun, Banana, and Teapot, had not even got started in the influence race.

A Very Successful Elder: Ki-in-kumi

The most influential man in Malau and the head of the biggest household was Ki-in-kumi. Since he had been born around 1863-64 and had been

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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a "young operator" somewhat before 1900, the deals by which he got his career launched were difficult to reconstruct. The results of them, plus the fact that he lived long enough to draw full dividends from them, gave him by 1928-29 a wife-list of twenty-one. These had been accumulated as follows:

When around 30 years old he remarried two elderly widows and a year or two later received his first bestowal. Thus by age 33 he had three wives. On that foundation he went ahead thus:

		Total
At age 33		
Had two widows and one bestowed wife		3
Between age 33 and age 43		
Remarried two more widows and had three more bestowed wives join him	+5	8
Between age 43 and age 53		
Three more bestowed wives came into residence	+3	11
(During these twenty years at least five bestowed wives died in infancy or childhood)	+5	16
Between age 53 and age 65		
Two more bestowed wives joined him and he married 2 more widows (one the mother of Boya)	+4	20
Now at age 66 there is still one more bestowed wife, aged about 9, in her father's household	+1	21

Thus his list of twenty-one wives was made up of six elderly widows and fifteen bestowed or rebestowed young wives.

By 1928-29 five of his bestowed wives had died before puberty and one was still with her father. Three of his six widows were dead. Subtracting these nine women, we find that his current household contained twelve resident and active wives: the oldest about sixty, two in their fifties, four in their forties or thirties, three in their twenties, and the two youngest around seventeen or eighteen years of age. Almost all of them had borne children since joining his household, but the death rate had been high among Ki-in-kumi's children and from all of his wives he had only eight living children of whom six were girls. Five of these six daughters he had bestowed or rebestowed on Padimo (see above) and the sixth on a middle-aged Rangwila. His oldest living daughter was the girl of 20 married to Padimo. His oldest living son was a boy of 18, despite the fact that Ki-in-kumi had been "a married man" for over thirty-five years. This was a situation which many Tiwi elders found themselves in at the close of long and successful lives. With numerous wives, numerous step-sons, large households to be managed, and large estates to be liquidated after their deaths, their oldest real sons (as distinct from step-sons) were still boys or youths and as such quite unsuitable as executive assistants while the old man lived or as heirs or executors after the old man died. Quite apart from kinship considerations, the Tiwi emphasis on age and seniority made it impossible for Ki-in-kumi to utilize in any capacity his 18-year-old son. A youth of that age was a nonentity, whoever his father.

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TABLE II
KI-IN-KUMI'S ESTABLISHMENT

(Ages in brackets)

	Males	Females
Head (Ki-in-kumi 66)	1	0
Oldest step-son (Boya 42)	1	0
Sister's son (Padimo 36)	1	0
Old wives (of all three adult men)	0	5
Young wives (including Padimo's 2)	0	11
Young males (sons and step-sons)	8	0
Young females (daughters and step-daughters)	0	5
Totals	11	21

Confronted by this situation, Ki-in-kumi in his advancing years had summoned Padimo, a sister's son in his early thirties, to come from Rangu and become his chief lieutenant. The youth of his own son had been a factor in his selection of Padimo. The presence in his camp of an older step-son, Boya, had been another factor. Boya, the step-son, was more than twenty years older than the son, and at least six years older than Padimo, the chosen instrument. Padimo, as we have seen, moved right in, fused his own small household with Ki-in-kumi's large one, and became Ki-in-kumi's Man Friday. Boya, the step-son, though married to a widow, refused to move out. Thus, among other things, we have to distinguish between Ki-in-kumi's household of twelve resident wives enumerated above, and Ki-in-kumi's establishment which contained Padimo, Boya, and the various people attached by marriage or kinship to them. Padimo had an old wife and two young wives (daughters of Ki-in-kumi). Boya had an old wife and a younger brother. There were a number of younger step-children of both sexes also resident with Ki-in-kumi. The full size and make-up of his establishment is given in Table II.

The Establishments of Malau

There were, besides Ki-in-kumi, six other elders of the Malauila band. Two of these, the brothers Enquirio and Merapanui, were well over sixty and deserve, both by age and by success, to be labeled senior elders. The remaining four ranged in age from about 45 to nearly 60 and since none of them were particularly successful we call them the junior elders. In Table III we have listed the seven "establishments" in which lived all the members of the band. We mean by an establishment a food-production and food-consumption unit. Ki-in-kumi's establishment contained three married men—himself, Boya, and Padimo—and therefore contained three households. Economically it was one establishment, since the sixteen wives it contained worked

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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free daughters on the older men but upon each other while waiting for the power alignment in Malau to change with Ki-in-kumi's death. Perhaps the clearest case of the pull between the obligations of the past and the planning for the future in the bestowal of free daughters was provided by Merapanui. He was a man who owed or thought he owed very little to his elders. None of them had ever bestowed a girl on him, and he reached fifty with nothing but an ancient widow. The fortunate death of an elder brother had suddenly provided him with bestowable daughters rather later in life than the average. By 1929 he had been able to bestow no less than four, and every one of them went to men much younger than himself and in other bands. Merapanui, being relatively free of old debts, was investing his daughters in young men with a future, but unlike Ki-in-kumi who had invested most of his daughters in one younger man, Padimo, old Merapanui believed in diversifying his investments.

Thus the politics of bestowal marriage were just as complicated as the politics of widow remarriage but, since a man was ten or more years older when he became involved in the former than when he became involved in the latter, a rather different set of motivations prevailed. At thirty-five as a mobile operator in the widow field, a man was trying to launch a career, and if he had no obvious assets—no living sisters or mother or important mother's brothers—he was often trying to launch it on a shoestring. By forty-five the same man was well along in his career and was a junior elder—the head of a household with at least one young wife in residence and a man beginning to have bestowable daughters of his very own. He now saw tribal politics and reputation building in different perspective from the way they had looked to him ten years earlier. Then he had put his services and his wits and his diplomatic skills at the disposal of older men in order to gain favorable notice from the elders. But now that he was an elder himself, albeit still low in the pecking order of elders, he was no longer their satellite but rather one of them and therefore in competition with them. Now he no longer wanted to build up his client's business; he wanted to build up his own household and his own influence. With the arrival of his first free daughters he was no longer content to work for and accept the leadership of older clients; he was in business as an elder for himself. His free daughters were therefore bestowed not as acknowledgments of his obligations to older men but as inducements to younger men to accept him as their patron. With his first free daughters a man was in position to become emancipated from the dominance of the elders because with the arrival of those daughters he could start bidding against them for the allegiance of men younger than himself.

One of the neatest examples of the switch in life career was provided in 1928 by the case of Tomitari. All Tiwi life careers and marriage arrangements were so tangled that one was delighted to find a relatively open and shut case. Some of the principals involved were relatives of Padimo, who was originally a Rangwila before Ki-in-kumi, his patron, lured him to Malau. Padimo and three sisters were the children of a Rangwila man and woman whom for simplicity's sake we will call Padimo's real father and real mother. The father bestowed the three girls on another Rangwila named Inglis who was

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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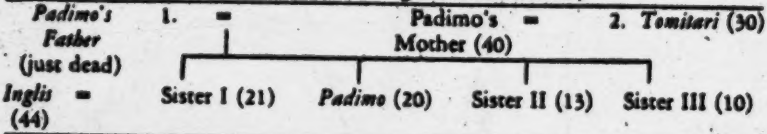
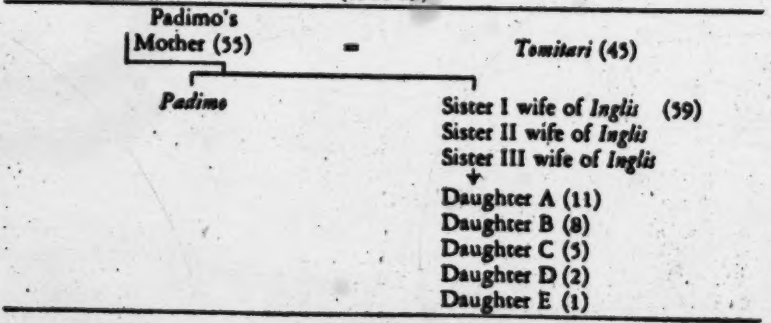
about the same age as himself. (*If* we tried to answer *why* he did, the case would no longer be simple.) Padimo's father died while the four children were still young, and their mother remarried a relatively young man named Tomitari. This occurred in about 1914 and the situation then was as follows:

GENEALOGY I
THE INGLIS-TOMITARI RELATIONSHIP 1914
(Males are in italics; ages are in brackets)



Fifteen years or so later, all parties were still alive; the two youngest sisters had joined Inglis as wives and all three sisters had borne children to him, including girls. Thus the situation in 1928-29 was:

GENEALOGY II
(1928-29)



The three sisters of Padimo had borne five daughters to Inglis and as they were successively born Inglis had bestowed the first three on Tomitari. He did not bestow the fourth or fifth nor any of his daughters by other wives.

The master clue to the whole matter was the marriage in 1914 of Padimo's widowed mother to Tomitari, then little more than thirty. His function had been to act as trustee or stand-in for Inglis' interest, not in the widow but in her daughters who had been bestowed on Inglis by their dead father. The young Tomitari as step-father of the girls had to ensure their safe delivery to Inglis' household. (One was there already but the other two were not.) Tomitari accomplished his mission, acquiring the widow, of course, as a wife in the process; the girls arrived safely in Inglis' household and Inglis paid off handsomely by bestowing their daughters on his honest agent who had held off the competitors.

But by 1923 or thereabouts Inglis had stopped paying off. Tomitari by then had received three bestowals from Inglis. (Actually he had received about six, but three died in infancy). Moreover, he was no longer a young man but

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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was entering the junior elder class and, having received wives from other sources than Inglis, was getting to the point where he would soon have free daughters of his own. He had no intention of performing any more services for Inglis who was now nearly sixty. Hence Inglis had not bestowed any daughters on Tomitari since 1923; those of his daughters who had been born since that year were bestowed on men other than Tomitari and men who were younger and less successful than he.

As we see it, the deals involving widows, particularly the pay-offs to young agents for acting to promote the interests of older men, had distorted what might be called the pure theory of Tiwi bestowal. According to the pure theory, mothers' brothers bestowed their daughters on selected sisters' sons, and the older man who gave a young man a wife and became his wife's father, was performing a kindness toward a favorite nephew for which the nephew should be grateful. But the Inglis-Tomitari operation shows how the theory had become distorted in practice. In order that Inglis might have some young daughters whom he would be free to bestow on his favored young nephew, Tomitari, in 1914 he had had to arrange the young man's marriage with an elderly widow to ensure safe delivery to him (Inglis) of some young wives who would bear him those daughters. Everything went smoothly and no slip-up occurred, yet by the time Inglis was in a position to give a wife to his favored young nephew, he found that the latter was no longer a dependent young man but a successful junior elder competing with him in his own field of identifying and using talent among the younger men. Tomitari's first daughter, born in 1927—not to any daughter of Inglis but to an older wife—was bestowed by its father on the distant but very promising Gitjara, a man of thirty-two. Gitjara was thus selected by Tomitari as a promising satellite at about the same age as Tomitari in 1914 had been selected by Inglis. Moreover, Tomitari by this time, far from being the grateful nephew of old Inglis (as the theory stipulated), was looking forward with anticipation to the old man's death, since when that occurred, among the widows of Inglis would be the three sisters of Padimo of whom he was still the nominal father. It was by acting as their step-father when they were children that he had got his own career started. They were indeed the foundation stone of his own career and, having profited so much from them as children, he was keenly interested in their redisposition whenever Inglis' death should put them on the market again. Thus he was simultaneously the husband of some of Inglis' daughters and nominal father of some of Inglis' wives. In the first status, he was expected by the theory to be a grateful son-in-law of Inglis; in the second status, the facts of Tiwi life required him to see Inglis' death as providing him with an opportunity to derive some new benefits for himself from his position as nominal father of the three wives of Inglis whose delivery to Inglis' household he had himself engineered.

Thus the politics of bestowal cannot be separated from the politics of widow remarriage. Every case of one had endless repercussions in the other. Sisters' sons who were promised young wives by their mothers' brothers were always too old to be grateful by the time the bestowal occurred or by the even later time when the bestowed child was old enough to come into residence.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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182 557 584 604 Mothers' brothers, in turn, were unable to endow their nephews any earlier because they as younger men had been caught in the same trap. The only way out was by deals in which older men and younger men collaborated. Ideally such collaborative efforts should always have been between mothers' brothers and sisters' sons, but amid such fierce competition and endless log rolling this was not possible, and in many cases the mother's-brother—sister's-son relationship was a *result* of collaboration between older man and younger man rather than a cause. The bond arose from the deal rather than from their original kinship, particularly when the two men involved were very close in age.

The collaborative deals between older men and younger men were essentially designed to compensate for the older man's inability to bestow a young wife upon the younger man at a reasonable age. As was stated before, not until he was about forty-five would the older man have a free or unencumbered daughter. By then his younger collaborator and satellite had attracted the attention of older and wealthier men with many unencumbered daughters. After 159 557 571 584 performing all his services to Inglis, young Tomitari had not had to depend on him for his first bestowal. A wealthier man than Inglis had reached over Inglis' head, so to speak, and bought Tomitari's allegiance by the bestowal of a young wife who provided Tomitari with a free daughter several years earlier than any child the daughters of Inglis could provide. With this first unencumbered daughter, Tomitari promptly bid for the allegiance of Gitjara. Put in terms of allegiances, Tomitari had from 1914 until about 1923 been the henchman of Inglis. During those years he passed from about age thirty to age forty, and his main patron was Inglis, who passed from about forty-four and on the fringes of the elder group to about fifty-four and accepted among the elder group. Then—and this was typical of the shift of allegiance that occurred in most life careers—a senior elder more wealthy in wives and daughters than Inglis bid for Tomitari's allegiance, and Tomitari became his henchman. Five years later, in 1928, Tomitari was a coming junior elder in Rangu and a man of influence in his own right. His oldest bestowed wife had already borne him a daughter whom he used to make Gitjara *his* henchman. The three wives (daughters A, B, and C) of Inglis were nearing the stage when they would join his household and he had other bestowals from other quarters. His relation to Inglis was no longer that of henchman but of rival, since they were now both successful elders in the same band and competitors in the struggle to make younger men dependent on them. Far from bestowing any more daughters on Tomitari, Inglis was bestowing his daughters (now plentiful) on men of Gitjara's generation (though not on Gitjara). Having more free daughters than Tomitari, he had more men of that generation to patronize, but since Inglis was sixty and Tomitari only forty-five, time was obviously on the side of the latter.

557 571 584 Thus the crux of the Tiwi system of influence-satelliteship-marriage arrangement-wealth centered around what happened to a man in his thirties. This is what we meant when we said earlier that old men with many daughters bestowed them on young men who looked to them like "comers." Old men

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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months after the attack on Darwin. Many of the older Tiwi who were in Darwin during the bombing did not survive the war; the psychological strain and lack of sufficient food was too much for them. Genealogies show that an unusual number of deaths occurred among Tiwi between 1942 and 1946.

When Western food supplies again became available, the old Tiwi bush living seems to have departed. The Tiwi suddenly realized their full dependence upon the products which only the whites could provide. As the war came to an end and one after another of the temporary military bases were abandoned, the missionaries and the Tiwi salvaged what they could, transporting large amounts of corrugated iron to Bathurst Island Mission for native huts. The Tiwi were drawn together around the Mission in larger numbers than ever before, their camps ranging in a line along the Mission beach. The majority of the Tiwi, about 600, considered Bathurst Island Mission their home, although some of the young adult males spent most of the year in Darwin. About 50 islanders lived adjacent to the half-caste Melville Island Mission at Garden Point. Another 150 were permanently located at the government settlement at Snake Bay. The remaining Tiwi, about 150, were year-round residents of Darwin; over one hundred lived at Bagot Native Compound and at an unsupervised native camp at Point Gunn directly opposite the southernmost tip of Melville Island; the rest were inmates at the leper colony. The resulting total population of about 950, in 1954, is only about a hundred less than the figure of 1062 which Hart obtained in his census of 1928-29.

Marriage Arrangements

We have discussed how, under the traditional Tiwi pattern of life, the greatest energies of mature males were expended in bargaining with each other for new wives. The old social system was one which had as normal features prenatal and early childhood engagements for females, remarriage for all widows, considerable age difference between marriage partners, and polygamy. The new Catholic system introduced by Father Gsell outlawed, or at least discouraged, polygamous marriages, nuptial unions between persons of greatly differing ages, and all prenatal or childhood betrothals. As indicated, Father Gsell initiated his new policies by purchasing young females and then allowing them to choose their own partners from among their single agemates.

It is of interest to inspect the actual circumstances surrounding one of the earliest unions which took place under Father Gsell's supervision. About 1914, Polly, an attractive young female who had already had a rather checkered career, having been stolen by a Yuwatja male from her rightful mate, was "stolen back" by another Tiwi, Timalarua of the Rangwila. Polly, however, decided that she did not want an old husband like Timalarua, so she ran away to the sisters and Father Gsell. In time, old Timalarua allowed Father Gsell to buy this wife who did not want to live with him. Shortly afterward, Father Gsell asked Polly whom she wanted to marry. Polly named Cabbagee as the

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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male of her choice and the couple soon set up housekeeping with Father Gsell's blessing. This was, at least, how the missionary saw it.

But what were the real circumstances surrounding this "free choice" by Polly? Her real father—that is, the husband to whom her mother Rita was married when Polly was born—had promised Polly to Kardu. Timalarua had "stolen" Polly from Kardu, her rightful husband. Nor is this the whole story. Rita had been "stolen" by Puti from Polly's father Turimpi. After several fights between Puti and the aging Turimpi and after Rita's complete refusal to return to Turimpi, Turimpi allowed Puti to keep Rita as his wife. Polly, however, was ultimately to go to the man to whom she had been promised, Kardu. But Puti, as the potential next father of Polly, had promised Cabbagee that as soon as Kardu died Polly was to be Cabbagee's wife. That is, when Polly chose Cabbagee as her mate she was only bypassing Kardu and taking as her husband the next normal alternative open to her.

When one considers what parts of Father Gsell's reform were significant in this case, one finds that only late consummation of marriage, monogamy, and marriage between agemates were important. A female did not actually have a "free choice" of her mate as Father Gsell had hoped and, in fact, had specified. She selected a youth to whom one of her relatives had at least tentatively promised her. Or (to put it in Hart's terms) she married—under Mission auspices—a young man who had at least a second or third mortgage on her.

Let us follow the case of Cabbagee's marriage further. He married Polly when he was about 23; he was too young to be married in the old pattern and was, therefore, happy to get a wife and be on his way up the social ladder. But when the next female promised to him (before her birth) came of age and he collected her, Polly made a terrific row. She did not want any younger female around her household as a second wife and told the priest at the Mission so. He in turn deprived Cabbagee of all gifts of tobacco and food and sent him and his family to the bush to think over the matter. After a few months, Cabbagee decided that he wanted tobacco and that after all the only place he could get it was at the Mission. He and his family returned and he gave up his second wife to Father Gsell, for a payment of food.

Younger men who were getting wives from among Father Gsell's convent girls thus found that they were unwise to accept a second wife from any other source. But such a young man, married under Catholic auspices, soon found that he could enhance his prestige without invoking criticism from the Mission if he gathered around him his own female relatives, the younger of whom he could give away later, one at a time, to men of his choice. A married man like Cabbagee, who gave another man his sister or sister's daughter, was in a position to ask all sorts of favors from the recipient, especially gifts of food, tobacco, and trade goods, and support in politics.

By the end of World War II, even these newer concepts of marriage agreement had begun to alter. There were many young Christian females desiring to have husbands whose fathers and brothers were not asking further wives as repayment. The fathers began to ask for new types of concessions

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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177 S92 them impressive collections of females. But these collections included now only one wife.

Let us consider again the case of Cabbagee. It will be remembered that ● 159 177 592 his had been one of Father Gsell's first marriages and, except for a few uncomfortable months, he had been monogamous all his life. There were camped with him in 1954 a number of women and children who were related to him in many ways. There was his wife Polly, now a good Catholic who had taken the Christian name of Carmel, and her ancient mother Rita, who had borne a child long before the white man came to Bathurst Island. Also in "Cabbagee's camp," as the natives referred to it, was Patrick, Cabbagee's only son, and Patrick's wife. Patrick and his wife had three surviving children between the ages of four and thirteen; they also were raising 14-year-old Fabian, whose [736 968] deceased father had been a "brother" of Patrick and whose deceased mother had been a "sister" of Patrick's wife. Cabbagee and Carmel (alias Polly) had three daughters, and Cabaggee had arranged with each son-in-law that he reside with Cabbagee and support him in his fights and politics. These daughters and sons-in-law had a total of ten children. The other members of Cabbagee's camp included the widow and children of Carmel's deceased [584 589] younger maternal half-brother. Cabbagee had given this "sister" to Carmel's half-brother for his wife and when he died seven years later leaving a number of young children, Cabbagee defended the right of his "sister" not to remarry. With this "sister" of Cabbagee lived her step-mother and occasionally [607] her real mother, until the latter died. Further, living in Cabbagee's camp were two of his full sister's daughters and their husbands, who became members of the camp by reason of the fact that Cabbagee arranged his sister's marriage in such a way that her husband, Babui, accepted Cabbagee as his leader.[1] [602] When Babui arranged his own daughters' marriages, his new sons-in-law became subservient to Babui and thereby subservient to Cabbagee. Also resident in Cabbagee's camp at times were his younger paternal half-brother Pawpaw with his two surviving wives, his full brother Tommy's son, and two of their widowed "sisters" and their children.

177 162 571 We have mentioned here only that segment of Cabbagee's camp led by Cabbagee himself and that led by his half-brother Pawpaw, but such a listing is adequate for our purposes. It is noteworthy that the downward alteration in the age of marriage for males has meant that many less women become widows; first marriages of women last longer and, therefore, the system of [768] patronage established at the time of the first marriage is more permanent. Babui's marriage, for example, had made him a henchman of Cabbagee from about 1920 to 1955. When women did become widows, especially if they had 604 584 177 daughters, they were protected by their brothers who thereby became the "boss" of their daughters. The father or the "boss" of a girl arranged her mar-

[1] Hart would use the word "patron" in this relationship. Pilling prefers the word "leader." This is itself an indication of a certain subtle change in Tiwi social structure. The patron-satellite relationship of 1928-29 is nowadays better expressed as leader-follower. The pairs of men are closer in age than they used to be. How the Tiwi themselves now express the relationship is indicated in the next footnote.

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

Island (Hart 1930) is inhabited by a subtribe called the Tiklauila. In 1911 a Roman Catholic Mission station was established at the southeast tip of Bathurst Island, virtually in Tiklauila territory, and at the time of the present writer's field work this was the only white settlement. In the generation before the missionaries arrived the "big man" among the Tiklauila was Turimpi. Because of their complicated marriage and inheritance regulations the average Tiwi old man in the course of his lifetime accumulates an impressive number of wives and Turimpi was no exception to this rule. At the time of his death, which occurred toward the end of the 1890's at an age which was probably something approaching 70, Turimpi counted as his wives then living or pre-deceasing him no less than 25 females. Of these the only one we need to pay any attention to is the woman named Bongdadu. She, while Turimpi's wife, had borne numerous children, of whom three males grew to manhood—Antonio, born in approximately 1883, Mariano born three or four years later, and Louis born around 1893. Sometime between 1895 and 1900 she was widowed by the death of Turimpi, whereupon she married another elderly man, Murikambunga, to whom she bore two more sons—Tipperary, born around 1900, and Bob born about a year later. Bongdadu of course had numerous other children who did not survive childhood.[4] It is her five adult sons who concern us here.

Turimpi, as the number of wives suggests, was an important tribal figure during his lifetime. Importance, prestige, tendency to be spoken of as a "big man" are in Tiwi functions of a number of factors in which age, number of wives, fighting ability, wisdom in council, and "family" in the sense of having relatives who are also "big men," are all compounded. On all these counts Turimpi was important, and his prestige tended to carry on after his death. Since the horde or subtribe is a comparatively small group, ranging in size from 214 for the Tiklauila (the biggest) to 57 for the Mingwila (the smallest), there will seldom be more than two or three "big men" in a subtribe at the same time, and at certain periods there may be none at all since the few old men who have the age qualification may not have the other qualifications. Turimpi's death left the Tiklauila to some extent in this state. There were few other men with comparable seniority and none of them had the qualifications for informal leadership and local prestige that he had possessed. His death left a gap, and a gap that could hardly be filled by his eldest son Antonio, who at the time of his father's death was a youth of about 16 years of age. About thirty years later, in 1928 to 1930, the field work upon which the present paper is based was carried out.

ANTONIO

It so happened that the present writer had been with the Tiwi for nearly three months before he met Antonio, although during those three months he had been closely associated with two of his brothers, Mariano and Tipperary. These two gave Antonio a great build-up as one of the most important men around, as a "big man" in every possible Tiwi sense. But when encountered in person he proved most disappointing. The only words that fitted Antonio

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 O120 Tiwi O120

were words like "insecure" and "uneasy." He was not particularly aggressive nor particularly submissive, but he fluctuated between the two attitudes. One got the impression after associating with him that he was never sure of what was expected of him and acted therefore in contradictory ways according to what *he thought* was expected of him. Or to put the same impression another way, there seemed a constant discrepancy between what people expected of Antonio and what he wanted to do if left alone. In tribal fights, for instance, he acted fiercely and aggressively and with the air of swaggering braggadocio that that all important men are expected to show in fighting, yet at the earliest possible moment he melted into the crowd with visible relief at being able to quit the center of the stage and without a trace of rancor or ill will toward any of the people whom he had been abusing or had been abused by a few minutes before. In council meetings of senior men he was always listened to with respect yet always had to be prodded into speaking at all. He never initiated a policy or offered his opinion until pressure was put upon him to state what he thought, and while his opinion when given was listened to with attention it was always a paraphrase of some opinion already given, usually the majority opinion of the group. He expressed what he thought the group wanted him to say, never an "opinion of his own." In this respect Antonio had many of the characteristics of a "yes-man" and like his counterparts in more civilized societies he seldom took the unpopular side and seldom stood up to opposition.

Two burning political issues agitating the Tiwi in 1928–30 were the issues of (1) plural marriage and (2) the visits of the Japanese pearling luggers. The Catholic missionaries had taken a strong stand on plural marriages and were bringing all the economic and moral pressure they could exert on the younger Tiwi to induce them to restrict themselves to one wife. Failure to bow to Mission pressure resulted in the recalcitrant's being cut off from the European food, tobacco, clothes, etc. which could only be obtained through the Mission. But beginning in the middle 1920's Japanese pearling boats in ever increasing numbers had carried on the practice of anchoring on the further side of Melville Island during the period of high tide (when diving for pearl shell was impossible) and inviting the natives to provide their women as prostitutes for the use of the crews during their stay on the beaches. The Japanese captains paid lavishly in European goods for any women thus provided and the subtribes on the southeast side of Melville, in particular the subtribe called the Yeimpi, proved very susceptible to the Japanese temptations.

These two issues of plural marriage and prostitution for the Japanese rather neatly complemented each other at two points. Not only did the Japanese rival the Mission station as a source of supply for European goods; the possession of a large number of wives was a condition that made a man very unpopular with the missionaries, but, if he were disposed to rent out some of them, made the same man very popular with the Japanese. The plural marriage issue, if alone, would clearly have divided the tribe into the conservatives, staunchly upholding plural marriage as the Tiwi way, and the radicals abandoning it in return for Mission favor. But such an alignment was cut right across

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

by the Japanese issue, since it tempted the conservative with several wives to violate all the old tribal sanctions by renting out his wives, and it provided the Mission adherent radicals with a grand opportunity to pose as the real defenders of the old culture and to charge the old polygamists with being the real renegades from the ancient ways.

It can be easily guessed how high feelings ran on these issues and how hotly they were debated when a number of Tiwi gathered together. But on neither of these issues or on any aspect of them did Antonio show any signs of leadership. He accumulated wives but always apologized in a rather deprecating and apple-polishing way when he met the missionaries, and spent part of his time hanging around the Mission despite the contemptuous attitude which the missionaries adopted toward him. He thus contrasted very unfavorably with some of his contemporaries, notably one Dooley who, having been for years a one-wife man and a Mission favorite, inherited a second wife at around the age of forty. Dooley's decision was clear-cut and highly spectacular. He accepted the second wife, shook the dust of the Mission station from his feet and never set foot near it again, taking up again the traditional life of a Tiwi elder, deep in the bush, with his two wives and later additions, ignoring all white innovations, even tobacco.[4] Dooley's uncompromising behavior was greatly admired by the tribe but few had the strength of character to emulate him, certainly not Antonio.

On the Japanese issue Antonio was just as vacillating. Prodded by others to make a statement he would in ringing tones denounce as disgraceful and scandalous the behavior of the Yelmpi wife-renters, but on his visits to the Yelmpi country ostensibly "to see for himself what was going on" he shared eagerly in the proceeds of vice which his friends there offered him and was even heard on a few occasions to wonder aloud why the Japanese always went to the Yelmpi country when there were plenty of secluded beaches in Tiklaulla country. Instantly challenged, "Would you want the Japanese to come here?" "Would you rent your wives to them if they did?" poor Antonio quickly turned it into a feeble joke, saying deprecatingly, "Oh no, no, no. I just wondered why they always go to those ugly Yelmpi women?"

In summary we might say that Antonio's personal behavior appeared to be that of a man pushed into a position rather too big for him to fill. He was not by nature particularly aggressive or domineering, but as the eldest son of Turimpi he was constantly being pushed by public opinion onto the center of the stage, whereas he would have been much happier if public opinion had left him alone to be an ordinary, average member of the crowd. The role he was called on by his status position to play seemed to give him little or no pleasure, little or no personal satisfaction. Such a view of his "personality" is supported by the fact that when alone in the bush with his own family and away from the society of his peers Antonio was relaxed and at ease. As Durkheim pointed out, the basic factor in Australian social psychology is that men spend a great part of their lives hunting and collecting in the bush, completely out of physical contact with all people except members of their own households,

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

usually wives and children only, but this life lived in an isolated household is broken in upon at intervals by short interludes of the "collective life," when members of numbers of households gather together for ceremonies, legal proceedings, fights and initiations. If we may call these two types of living the public life and the private life of the adult male Australian, then we may say that Antonio was very happy in private life and uncomfortable in public life. The two activities which made him happiest were playing with his children and hunting with his dogs. When left alone by society to do these two things Antonio was a kindly, patient, gentle, good-natured and relaxed man, but in all social relations with other adult men he was nervous and uncertain of himself. One might hazard the opinion that it was because children and dogs made no great demands upon him that he was happy and at ease with them, but people he found very trying since they were always expecting him to "take a stand" or to make a decision and this was something he had no talent for, something which did not "come naturally" to him, and something which gave him no satisfaction. Turimpi's mantle had fallen on a man who just wanted the world to let him alone, who preferred his home, his family and his dogs to any rewards which public life could give him.

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MARIANO

Mariano was first encountered in Port Darwin before the writer had got to the Tiwi. Finding me waiting for transportation to the islands, Mariano offered to come with me and act as my chief interpreter and informant. As he appeared a very intelligent and mature member of the tribe, I promptly hired him. Or so I thought at the time. Events were to prove that what had happened was that Mariano had appropriated me. For Mariano was (in his own opinion, at least) the only possible person fit to escort and advise a white man visiting the Tiwi. He had created something of a monopoly in the job of white man's escort and adviser. The beginning of this not unusual native profession went back, in his case, to the foundation of the Mission station. When the missionaries arrived in 1911 and began to build their mission houses Mariano became almost immediately the principal go-between of Mission and natives. As far as the situation of 1911 can now be reconstructed the factors operating to select Mariano for this position were merely suitability of social status, availability and willingness to undertake it. As already mentioned, the Mission was established at the southeast tip of Bathurst Island. This was Tiklauila territory and at that time the dominant family among the Tiklauila was that of Turimpi. Of Turimpi's sons, Antonio, the eldest, was about 28 or 29, Mariano was about 25 and Louis, the third son, was a youth not yet 20. Antonio's role as eldest son was already fixed, Mariano's, as second son, was still flexible. Antonio was personally unaggressive except when forced into taking a strong stand, Mariano (we may speculate) was already more forceful and more prone to draw attention to himself by aggressive behavior.[8] Mariano was just ready in 1911 to emerge from the age group of young men who should, according to Tiwi ideas, be seen and not heard into the age group of "junior adult men" who

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6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

have some slight voice in tribal affairs. Antonio had already emerged into this latter group and therefore was already committed to the old way of things to an extent that Mariano was not. This line of reasoning will explain at least why Mariano was chosen rather than Antonio. Louis, on the other hand, was still a boy indistinguishable among the group of 18 year olds.

Students of social organization in small societies are aware that in such societies the status requirements for certain positions are frequently such that often only a very few individuals, sometimes only one individual, are actually available to fill the positions. A similar narrow range of potential holders also pertains, it would seem, to statuses not known to the native culture but thrown up, as it were, by the demands of the culture-contact situation, as in the present case by the arrival of the Mission. What the missionaries needed among the natives was a spokesman for them (a) who had some influence, and influence in Tiwi is a combination of age, family prestige and personal forcefulness; (b) who was a local man in the district in which the Mission was built; (c) who was young enough to be flexible in his actions and thinking and therefore capable of being influenced by them; (d) who was not yet so committed to tribal mores (plural wives, strict observance of taboos, etc.) that once trusted by the Mission and identified in the native mind as a Mission-supporter he would be likely to embarrass the Mission by backsliding; and (e) who was willing to take on the job. They found their man in Mariano. A careful review of all the other possible candidates as they existed in 1911 fails to reveal any other man who had so many of the above desiderata. Dooley had many, but was a person of no family, certainly not a son of Turimpi.

In the early days of the Mission Mariano thus became its main spokesman among the tribe and the most trusted interpreter for and adviser of the priests. By 1928 he to some extent still occupied this position. But by then the Mission had had seventeen years in which to build up wider contacts and find other spokesmen, and its needs were no longer the same needs as in its pioneer days. Moreover, not only had the Mission matured in those seventeen years but so had Mariano. At the age of 42 or so, he was now a man of influence and prestige in the tribe but, like many better-known leaders of men in other societies, he was inclined toward an aggressive, bumptious self-importance and an exaggerated belief in his own indispensability. He had therefore become rather a trial to the missionaries (and to all the other white men to whom he had attached himself). The result was a continued series of quarrels between him and the Mission, which usually ended with Mariano, in a rage, storming off either to the bush or Port Darwin. In Port Darwin he characteristically worked for only the more important whites, senior government officials or at the hospital, until his anger had cooled sufficiently for him to return, self-contained, dignified, completely humorless and rather pompous, to ascertain whether the missionaries realized how foolish they had been to quarrel with him. If they had not, then he simply quit the Mission and waited for the arrival of some white visitor who needed a native sponsor. He thus acquired a greater knowledge of white ways than most of the Tiwi and as a result no doubt of his op-

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

portunities for cultural comparison he at the same time acquired an acute insight into his own culture and into the psychology of his fellow tribesmen. For the anthropologist he was a magnificent informant and a continuous pain in the neck. As increasing years gave him increasing tribal seniority, Mariano became increasingly domineering and touchy about his own importance and increasingly recognized by the younger men as the man who voiced the "promission" and hence "pro-white" point of view in tribal arguments. However, it would be a mistake to think of him as the "detribalized" native of the literature (as another Benelong, e.g., in the magnificent study of culture contact given by the Australian novelist Eleanor Dark, 1941). On the contrary the tough old unacculturated natives who lived deep in the bush and who tried to act much of the time as if white men didn't exist not only accepted Mariano but respected him and paid deep attention to his arguments. The reasons why they did this are, I think, all considerations of "personality," that is, they respected Mariano despite his collaboration with the Mission largely because Mariano was the kind of man he was. He was forceful and determined; he was sincere, he was consistent both in word and in deed, he was intelligent and knew both the psychology of his audience and how to marshal his arguments so as to obtain maximum impact from his material. And he had supreme confidence in his own righteousness. Time and again one was struck by the contrast between him and his elder brother Antonio. When Antonio spoke (always after being prompted or coerced into giving his opinion), people listened hoping to hear wisdom and force and cogency; instead they heard only hackneyed phrases and inconsistent arguments which left them dissatisfied and unconvinced. When Mariano spoke (always without invitation and frequently ahead of many of his seniors), he laid down, in vehement tones, a definite policy, and even though his policy was unacceptable to his hearers as it frequently was, they listened with close attention and voiced their approval at the end, not so much of the policy he outlined as the directness and clearness of the delivery and the logic of his position.

The difference between the two men is well illustrated by their attitudes toward the Japanese wife-renting on the Yeimpi beaches. On this, the burning issue of the day, Antonio never took a stand but shilly-shallied on all sides of it, despite the fact frequently drawn to his attention—that his small daughter was betrothed to an old Yeimpi who was a notorious wife-renter and he, therefore, in a very short time would be faced with the decision of whether to hand the girl over to her promised husband or not. Mariano on the contrary seized upon the Japanese issue from its first appearance as proof of the essential soundness of the Mission campaign against plural marriages. His speeches were clear-cut and definite. "It all goes to show that the priests are right when they say that having a lot of wives is a bad thing. These old Yeimpi have too many wives. If they had only one each, like white men (and inferentially like Mariano himself), they would not be doing this disgusting thing of renting out their wives to Japanese, they would want to keep their one wife to themselves like decent Tiwi." Most of his hearers (a) considered themselves decent Tiwi, but

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

(b) had each a number of wives at home, (c) had not rented any to the Japanese as yet (mainly because of lack of opportunity), but (d) were all suspecting each other of contemplating an early trip to the Yeimpi country and therefore were in chronic indecision on the whole matter. Hence Mariano's arguments were greeted with the applause that any group of people caught among a complicated set of moral alternatives will give to one of their number who has solved for himself the conflicts that beset them and has solved them moreover in a way perfectly consistent with all his previous attitudes. It was the applause and approval that is expressed in our culture by some such phrase as "I may not agree with him but at least he is sincere and you always know where he stands."

But like similar people elsewhere Mariano inspired no close intimate loyalty. Nobody felt warmly toward him. The missionaries used him but didn't like him, the anthropologist found him invaluable as an informant but intensely irritating in his self-importance and his belief in his own indispensability; among the natives he had no intimates and no close friends. His relations with his wife were much more formal and distant than was usual among monogamous couples and she frequently criticized him both in public and in private for what she called his "failure to talk to her"—undoubtedly the Tiwi equivalent of the American wife's complaint against her husband's absorption in business or politics. He was fond of his children but played with them little and then in a silent, brooding sort of way, confining his caresses to tickling and squeezing them, unlike Antonio whose play with his children was always carried on in an endless flow of chatter and two-way conversations. Child-talk, one surmises, was beneath Mariano's dignity.

All in all, Mariano was a forceful, domineering, self-important, introverted man, pursuing his dedicated way as the leader of a cause—collaboration with and imitation of the whites—but having personality traits which prevented him from inspiring any of the affection or warm devotion that other types of leaders inspire. There were many Tiwi, especially among the younger men, who were ready and willing to adopt at least the easier aspects of white culture such as clothes, work in Darwin, disrespect for tribal laws, violation of taboos, but in no sense can they be described as Mariano's followers, still less his admirers. Everyone respected Mariano, everybody consulted him, everybody made use of him and listened to him, but nobody warmed to him. He was as sound, as domineering, as aggressive, as humorless, as dedicated, as admirable as one of the Old Testament prophets—and just as difficult to like.

LOUIS

Of the five sons of Turimpi, it may be that the two who were most similar in whatever it is that is called personality were the second and third sons, Mariano and Louis. Both were "lonely ones," both had about them a kind of gloomy, inward-focused aura which inhibited warm friendly relations with others. Among a people to whom laughter and gaiety come easily, both were completely devoid of humor. Both were men dedicated to a cause, but in the

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

nature of the cause they diverged sharply. The same single-minded concentration which Mariano devoted to the cultivation of white men, Louis devoted to his sexual activities. Whether two men devoting most of their time one to preaching acculturation, the other to seduction, can be said to have a common basic personality, is a question best left to the personality experts; but at least to the superficial observer there was something vaguely similar in the grim and humorless way in which Louis pursued other men's wives and the way in which Mariano carried on his acculturation campaign.

Sexual irregularities are difficult data upon which to obtain accurate information in any culture. When, therefore, Louis is described as an habitual and constant seducer, no claim is made that he was actually as successful in this line of endeavor as tribal opinion maintained. All that we can be sure of is that Louis had an exalted reputation of this sort and he had it in a tribe where a number of circumstances combine to make seduction almost as easy and almost as common as eating or drinking. The seduction situation is largely the result of the marriage customs of the Tiwi which have the effect of forcing most men to remain bachelors until well into their thirties while concentrating all wives, old and young, in the hands of the older men. This means that the older a man gets the more wives he accumulates, and it would appear that the more he accumulates the more suspicious he becomes that some of them (probably the younger and more physically attractive ones) are being unfaithful to him. These suspicions are accentuated by (a) the way in which the day-to-day food gathering activities of the women are necessarily carried out—the women are widely dispersed through the bush, often working singly, well out of sight and hearing of each other; (b) the fact that young unmarried men are frequently hunting (or pretending to hunt) alone in the same general area of country as that in which an old man's numerous wives are gathering wild foods; and (c) the character of the vegetation in large sections of the Tiwi country, great stretches of it being just open enough to make it easy for native eyes to see somebody slipping through the trees, but just thick enough to make it difficult for them to be sure of identities at any distance.[6]

In such an atmosphere it is rare for any bachelor to live for more than a few months at most without having to face an accusation by some old man that he has been taking liberties with one of the latter's wives, and it is even rarer for an old man with a number of young wives not to have reason to suspect most or all of them of having been unfaithful to him several times at least in the course of a year. But in this setting of daily seduction Louis' reputation was outstanding. In the period with which we are dealing here he had been suspected and publicly accused of adultery with almost every possible woman for miles around. His demeanor when accused by the outraged husbands was characteristic. Whereas other seducers denied the charge and asserted their essential purity, or tried to laugh it off as silly rumor ("Why, I don't even know the woman"), or alibied themselves and accused other men ("I wasn't even hunting in that direction that day, it must have been so-and-so, he was following a kangaroo down that way at the time in question"), or sometimes even

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admitted the charge along the age-old line of "the woman tempted me," Louis always faced his accusers silently, sullenly, almost disinterestedly. He never excused himself, never alibied. On the other hand he never gloried in or boasted of his sexual exploits, he merely gave the impression that he was completely disinterested in the whole procedure of argument and punishment and wanted to get it over with as quickly as possible. It was very evident that, despite his sexual reputation, he was not invested with any glamour nor did he excite any hero-worship on the part of the younger men. The role of Don Juan in some cultures can presumably be a role that leads to a successful seducer's being envied and even to some extent hero-worshipped by the young bloods, but this seems quite absent as a cultural possibility in Tiwi values. Successful young seducers never act publicly as if they were proud of themselves nor in any way show off or assume a "look how clever I am" manner. Absence of such behavior was very noticeable in others besides Louis, and certainly he never acted in such a way, despite his obvious suitability for such a role were it culturally available.

In camp and during the periods of the collective life he was silent, gloomy and dour, frequently irritable, unfriendly and hostile to everybody. He was too young, in Tiwi terms, to rate a wife, but the policy of the Mission to discourage plural marriages had as its positive correlate the promotion of marriages for the wifeless young men and Louis was one of those who had obtained a wife through Mission manipulations. She died after a beating which Louis in one of his frequent fits of anger had administered to her, and while the natives never said so openly, they clearly agreed with the Mission's charges that Louis had murdered his wife. Thus accused to his face by the Mission, Louis shrugged his shoulders in his normal, indifferent way. In council he seldom spoke and what he said carried no weight. This, of course, may well have been due to his age as in Tiwi terms Louis at 31 or 32 was still a young man who should keep silent in the presence of his seniors. But it was very noticeable that even in the quick informal conferences between members of a party on the march involving such petty decisions as whether to camp at this waterhole or try and make the next one before nightfall, or in similar minor decision-making, Louis took no part. He listened silently to the debate, was very quick to foresee correctly what the decision was going to be as was evidenced by his starting off again by himself before the main party had realized where the consensus lay, but he apparently felt no urge to express aloud his own views on the issue. His actions showed that in his private analysis of the situation he was way ahead of most of the debaters but apparently his personal satisfactions came from correct anticipation of majority decision rather than from any desire to participate himself in decision-making. The same ability to listen, analyze what he heard, to act upon his own analysis but never to intervene actively was very noticeable in Louis' reaction to the accusations against him by the outraged husbands. An outraged husband usually begins his charges late at night when the camps are quiet. At such a time he begins to yell his accusations through the darkness at the top of his voice, naming the seducer,

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the wife concerned, the time and place where the event occurred, how sure he is of the truth of his accusations, what he intends to do about it, all this interspersed with insults and abuse of the young man involved. The effectiveness of this type of midnight harangue depends largely upon the offender's being within earshot, since there is not much point in abusing an absentee. The accused almost invariably reacts by shouting back denials. But this was not Louis' way. He remained silent until the ranting old man was forced to pause and ask rather feebly of the darkness, "What's the matter with him? Why doesn't he answer? Is he asleep?" Whereupon from Louis' campfire would come a quiet, "No, I hear you," and very little else. The husbands found this most frustrating, a situation somewhat analogous to the schoolboy situation of our culture expressed in some such phrase as "You can't ever get him to bite."

In addition to this great self-control and his undoubtedly keen intelligence, Louis was a formidable fighting man, the toughest, strongest and most dangerous in battle of all Turimpi's sons. But when he fought, he fought alone. He led no factions and commanded the loyalty of no clique. He was in all things a lone wolf, apparently wanting no friends and seeking to influence no man. These personality traits probably stood him in good stead in his amorous career, though whether that career was the result of possession of such traits, or whether the traits were developed by the requirements of the career is an open question. Certainly, under Tiwi conditions, a person like Louis was peculiarly suited for an amorous reputation, since noisiness and chattersomeness during amours increase the chance of discovery, and close intimate friends are always liable to gossip. Solitary, reserved, intelligent and determined, master of his own fate and accepting the responsibility for his own actions, but saying practically nothing, Louis, one suspects, was the type of man who would have a successful career in whatever line of activity he concentrated upon, and in any culture in the world a man like Louis if he concentrates on sex will be a constant source of uneasiness and suspicion to husbands. He will always get what he goes after.

TIPPERARY

The three oldest sons—Antonio, Mariano and Louis—were over 30 at the time of observation. The two youngest, Tipperary and Bob, were just approaching thirty. Bob, as we shall see later, was definitely lacking in color and definiteness. Louis, as we have pointed out, was a silent, antisocial type of man. It might be inferred from these two facts, especially by those familiar with the increasing importance and prestige that age, *per se*, brings in Australian social life, that all the younger men were rather restrained and unemphasized in personality characteristics just because they were young. Such a view is, I think, contradicted by the fact that Louis, while silent and noninitiatory, was nevertheless far from colorless. Even though he seldom spoke to draw attention to himself people, both men and women, were always well aware of him when he was around. It is also contradicted by the personality of Tipperary.

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159 Tip, and every white man who came in contact with him immediately shortened his name to the obvious diminutive form, was a person whose whole life was devoted to laughter. No English word fits him so well as the word "gay." This gaiety was not clownishness or buffoonery nor did it contain any element of malice or desire to hurt others; it was simply an enormous sense of fun. The other four brothers were in their different ways rather taut and tense personalities, or at least three were and Antonio was when away from home. Tip alone of the five brothers was always completely relaxed and unself-conscious. He was always looking on the bright side, always trying to banish tension and worry with a quip or a wisecrack, always making a joke. His favorite sentence opening was "perhaps." On one occasion a camp I was in was badly scared by a ghost appearing in the middle of the night in the midst of the camp fires. Everybody, anthropologist included, huddled around their fires, not daring to look and yet unable to abstain from furtive peeps. Finally the apparition seemed to have gone and there were low whispers from various firesides of, "Has it gone?—I think it's gone—it doesn't seem to be there now." "Perhaps it's gone to Port Darwin to see a movie," said Tip, loudly, and immediately the tension was broken and the whole camp shouted with laughter. On another occasion a group of natives who were escorting an elderly and venerable French priest through the bush, were chased by a herd of wild buffalo[8] and forced to take refuge in the nearby trees. The buffalo pawed and snorted under the trees and a discussion took place as to how to frighten them away. Shouting, swearing and throwing sticks failed to frighten them off. "Perhaps, Father," said Tip, convulsed with laughter at the whole proceeding and addressing the priest, "perhaps they would go away if you cursed at them in the Church language [i.e., Latin]."

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There are several important things to notice about Tip's humor. One is that much of the time he used it as a means of initiating action, as in the ghost incident where he took the lead over several senior men in dissolving the tension, or in the Warner incident,[9] where the initiating suggestion to play a very old and hackneyed joke came from him. In a culture that looked with disfavor on young men speaking out of turn, Tip was always speaking out of turn, but because such speaking was always in a joking form, few if any natives recognized it as being out of turn. From certain points of view we might say that Tip had found, through his gaiety, a tool which he used to make his presence felt without exciting social disapproval because of his lack of age. But that statement makes the whole matter sound far too conscious and deliberate. Again we face a constantly recurring problem—how much of "personality" is status-dictated and how much "natural"? Will increasing years and dignity cause Tip to cease laughing at life and its problems? There seem at least two grounds for strongly doubting it. One is the admittedly subjective but strongly held view that Tip didn't laugh and joke and come out with his incongruous "perhaps" to achieve effect or as a means to the end of social recognition, but because he genuinely and naturally enjoyed his own humor. Too many nights have I dozed off to sleep listening to Tip gurgling with sup-

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pressed laughter on the other side of the fire as he recalled to himself the amusing incidents of the day. Even when alone with his thoughts he was still laughing. This suggests that Tip's gaiety was "natural" rather than contrived for effect, and there is support for the suggestion in the fact that Tip was regarded as a poor hunter, because, as one critic put it, "He doesn't concentrate on killing the kangaroo but plays jokes on the kangaroo and makes a game out of hunting." Another indication that when alone he behaved in the same irresponsible manner that he exhibited in public.

The second ground that suggests that fun-loving and gaiety are not incompatible with increasing age and tribal status is the fact that there were many old and venerable Tiwi who loved fun and laughter just as Tipperary did. One such was Tu'untalumi, one of the most elderly of the Tiklauila, a man of weight, dignity and poise. He was a highly respected person, an expert in ceremonial performances and a rigid traditionalist in all things. But despite his age and dignity this man was as given to fun and laughter as Tip was. The main difference was that Tip's laughter was loud, boisterous and prankish; Tu'untalumi's jokes and quips were delivered in low, gentle tones and his laughter was dignified and restrained. But within the limitations imposed by his status he got as much fun and extracted as much humor out of life as Tip, illustrating the point that age and seniority in Tiwi do not at all necessarily mean sourness and lack of humor. Although the two were not related Tipperary played up to the old man and courted and valued his approval while Tu'untalumi clearly liked having Tip around him. They were kindred souls but separated by more than forty years of age.

As is probably the case in most cultures, so among the Tiwi—the genuinely gay person is popular. Tipperary though the next to youngest of Turimpi's sons was the one with most friends. Perhaps significantly, his friends were among both his seniors and juniors, but not among his brothers. Antonio was the only brother who sought Tip's company and this can be accounted for either by the fact that Antonio, when not harassed by his status, was an easy-going, friendly and none too intelligent man who laughed readily even when none too sure of what the joke was, or that he found Tip's company a relaxation from the cares of state. Of the other brothers, the self-righteous and puritanical Mariano considered Tip frivolous and deplored (or was jealous of) the tendency of white men to become fond of him. Louis actively disliked Tip perhaps because his love affairs were an obvious target for some of Tip's better quips. "Perhaps he is going into the bush to take a nap" was one of his comments when he saw Louis disappearing among the trees. With his full brother Bob, Tip had few close ties, perhaps because Bob spent much of his time in Darwin, but even more likely, one suspects, because Bob, an indefinite and colorless youngster, shrank from attracting public notice, whereas Tip was always drawing attention to himself, with the result that Bob to save himself embarrassment avoided his company.

Outside his siblings, Tipperary's gaiety earned him the liking and companionship of the younger men and made him a favorite younger man of some

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of the oldest and most respected seniors, particularly of Tu'untalumi and those swayed by his opinion. It follows from this that Tip though given to jokes and pranks cannot be written off as merely a privileged buffoon. On the contrary his wit and gaiety earned him friends and his friends gave him influence out of proportion to his youth. Some insight into this is supplied by the shadow of the ubiquitous Louis. Tipperary, through the missionaries' efforts on behalf of monogamy, had obtained a wife at a much earlier age than would have been possible under pre-white conditions, and according to the women, who have their own sources of information about such things, Louis was strongly attracted by Tipperary's wife. Since Louis was not noted for restraint or self-discipline in these matters the obvious question was why he did not press his attention on her as he had done on numerous other women, including the wife of Tip's younger brother Bob. "Oh no, he doesn't dare chase after Tipperary's wife. The old men would be very angry if he did anything to her," was the reply of the old hags who were the local gossip columnists. This belief that the "old men" would undoubtedly protect Tip's wife while they had noticeably failed to protect Bob's wife from a similar threat (see below) is a pretty clear indication that the two young men had very different places in tribal estimation—a fact that in turn can be correlated with no status differential between them and leaves only the "personality" difference between the two men to account for it. Tip was popular with the control groups, Bob was not, therefore the control groups would support Tip because they liked him. They were indifferent toward Bob.[10]

To summarize Tipperary is relatively easy. He was a cheery, relaxed, fun-loving young man who enjoyed his own humor but enjoyed it all the more if it were shared by an appreciative audience. He was therefore gregarious, friendly, outgoing and extroverted. He would have been a good Rotarian or a better disk-jockey. Because of these traits he was noticed a great deal more by his elders than his age justified and the notice he received was usually favorable. He was popular in a way none of his brothers were, and because of this popularity was able to express opinions and exert influence to an extent unusual for one of his years. In a society where men under 30 are expected to be seen and not heard, Tip was constantly being heard. This was only possible because his natural gaiety and warmth prejudiced almost everybody in his favor. He was the sort of man about whom it is often said in our culture "he always makes a party go," or, "he is the sort of person who just naturally makes friends."

BOB

The youngest brother, Bob, needs only two words to describe him—complete nonentity. About 27 or 28 when I knew him and, because of the Mission's efforts, married a good deal younger than he would have been under pre-white conditions, Bob, whatever the occasion or circumstances, was always part of the background. Like many of the younger Tiwi he was inclined to spend part of each year in Darwin working for the white men, and by them he was regarded as a good, willing, obliging and respectful worker.

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garded as a good, willing, obliging and respectful worker. The tribe thought of him in much the same way, the missionaries and anthropologist agreed with the estimate. Bob was essentially a "good boy." He never did anything wrong, never answered back, never spoke out of turn, never stepped out of line, never deviated from the behavior expected of him. He was, of course, too young in Tiwi categories to have any influence or importance. But it is hard to see how age could turn him into anything more positive than he was at 28, at which age he invited the comment that he had very little personality. About all that could be said is that he was a born follower and always tried to do the right thing, the right thing consisting in conforming to the expectations of whatever group he happened to be with at the moment. When with the tribe Bob did what the elders told him to do. If they disagreed among themselves, Bob waited until the majority decision was clear and then added his voice to the chorus of agreement. The same faithfulness which caused his white employers to label Bob "a good boy" caused the tribal elders to regard him as among the sounder of the young men, though they deplored his tendency to spend so much time in Darwin. But even on his trips to Darwin Bob did not depart too much from the norms for men of his age who had been children when the Mission came and who therefore constituted a post-white generation. He did not stay more than three or four months at a time in Darwin, he returned for all the steps of his initiation ceremonies, he observed his food and other taboos even when in Darwin, and during his sojourns there he never caused scandal back-home by getting into the slightest "trouble." He went to Darwin when the tribe could raise no valid objection to his going, he returned whenever his absence led to criticism. Bob was a barometer of which line offered the least resistance at any given time. His chief motivation seemed to be to escape public attention, to always be where he would attract the least notice.

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The only occasion I ever saw Bob forced to emerge from the background and take the center of the stage was on one occasion when he returned from Darwin and was told by the local gossips that his wife had been unfaithful to him during his absence. The man involved was—not surprisingly—his brother Louis. This really put Bob on the spot. In pre-white days a youngster like Bob would not have had a wife, and therefore the situation of a man of Bob's tender years calling an older man to account for seducing his wife could not have arisen. The traditional pattern in seduction cases is for the husband, necessarily an older man, to accuse the alleged seducer, necessarily a young man and therefore a bachelor and a person of no importance, and demand vengeance on him. The accuser is, therefore, traditionally a man of weight and prestige and dignity, and carries on his case against the seducer with style and authority. The accused on the other hand, being young and a person of no importance, stands abashed, cowed and silent, looking guilty while the outranged husband showers him with tirades of abuse, followed finally by spears or throwing-sticks. In the case of Bob versus Louis the casting of these traditional roles was all wrong. Bob, overcome with embarrassment, did his best

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to give an imitation of an angry and indignant elder telling off an impertinent "young punk,"[11] but even to the Tiwi, the spectacle of the subservient and retiring Bob trying to overawe and browbeat the formidable and completely self-reliant Louis was such a perversion of the traditional pattern that it bordered on the farcical. As soon as it was over and the conventions were satisfied, Bob, pale and shaken by the unwonted initiative and aggressiveness he had been forced to display, hurried back to the oblivion of Darwin where no such demands were made on a good boy, and, presumably to ensure that he would not be forced to go through such an ordeal again, took the rather unusual step of taking his wife along with him this time.

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The above brief sketches convey perhaps some idea of the variation in personalities of the five brothers. Obviously no definite conclusions can be drawn from material of this sort. It is merely suggestive of possibilities for theory. What it seems to suggest is, however, at variance with the idea that personality is substantially uniform in the simpler societies. No attempt has been made in this paper to explore the full gamut of personal differences among the Tiwi. By adding half a dozen other individuals (including such as Tu'untalumi and Dooley, already briefly mentioned) to the five siblings we have discussed above, it would be easy to widen the number of "personality types" illustrated. By confining our attention to the sons of Turimpi we have avoided an arbitrary selection of contrasting individuals; the five men selected were chosen *not because* they were different *but because* they were brothers. How different they are in that vaguely defined thing called personality is largely a matter of opinion depending almost entirely upon what is regarded as a "personality" difference. All that we would here claim for them in the way of difference is that on any continuum for a single trait the five sons of Turimpi range themselves about as differentially as any five average men are likely to do in our culture. In aggressiveness, for example, Mariano is well toward one end of the range, Bob well toward the other; Tipperary, Louis and Antonio at different points in between. In decisiveness or decision-making, Mariano, Louis and Tipperary belong to the heavily positive side, Antonio and Bob on the heavily negative side. But if we couple with decisiveness the ability to win friends and influence people, Tipperary, the decisive and popular, must be sharply separated from Louis and Mariano, decisive but unpopular. The three aggressive dominating types differ markedly among themselves in what might be called interest in life or chief motivating force, Mariano expressing his need for dominance through political channels, Louis through sex, Tipperary through laughter and kidding. On an introvert-extrovert continuum, Louis the silent withdrawn lone-wolf has to be placed well toward the introvert pole, with Mariano not very far away from him, but with Tipperary the out-giving friendly "Rotarian" kidder at the other extreme, and Antonio well down toward Tipperary's end. These are of course just a few of the possible ranges along which the sons of Turimpi have to be located.

Whatever facet of behavior we seize on for comparison, we find these five

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theorists," says Boas, "assume a mental equipment of primitive man distinct from that of civilized man. I have never seen a person in primitive life to whom this theory would apply. There are slavish believers in the teachings of the past and there are scoffers and unbelievers; there are clear thinkers and muddle-headed bunglers; there are strong characters and there are weaklings" (1951). It is notewofthy that this (for Boas) unusually flat and definite statement was made in an attempt to demolish the views of Levy-Bruhl that between civilized man and the primitive there is an impassable psychological gap. Perhaps—as Tipperary would say, if he understood the matter—perhaps, the personality and culture movement is merely Levy-Bruhl in modern dress, perhaps the latent content of the movement is to deny to the people of the simpler cultures the ordinary elementary human qualities of individual difference and human variation, thereby enabling "personality" and "individuality" to be treated as unique creations of the white races to be found only among the followers of the American way of life. If this indeed be the latent content of much "personality and culture" literature, it seems to warrant a flat and unqualified rejection, in terms as emphatic as those of Boas, by all those anthropologists who, like Boas, may not know projective tests but do know something about the simpler native societies.

NOTES

[1] In view of the wide discrepancies in the use of the word "personality" it must be made clear again that all that is meant by the word here is the level of description one is apt to get if in ordinary social conversation one asks the question, "What sort of person is he?"

[2] The native names of these men are all polysyllabic and difficult for the reader to remember. I use therefore the names bestowed upon them by white men, to aid in keeping them distinctly in mind. The Spanish names, Antonio, etc., were bestowed by certain Filipino carpenters who built the building for the Roman Catholic missionaries when they first arrived. Tipperary is, of course, a white corruption of a native name.

[3] It will be noticed by close students of the above information that Turimpi must have been born in the 1830's, Bongiadu born somewhere around 1865. She had her first child when she was about 16 or 17, at which time her husband Turimpi was at least 50. This is a perfectly normal Tiwi marital situation, the commonest marriage arrangement being one in which a newly-born female child is betrothed by her father to a man in his thirties.

[4] Even from the anthropologist Dooley would not accept tobacco until he had convinced himself that in return he would not be required to sacrifice any of his principles. Nor would he take his son, to whom he was passionately attached, to the Mission station for medical treatment—perhaps the most striking proof of the uncompromising attitude that Dooley had adopted toward the Mission.

[5] Such a speculation about Mariano's personality at the age of 25, seventeen years before the author knew him, is based upon the general belief of social scientists that personality does not change much between 25 and 42, and the particular evidence of the older missionaries that Mariano was "already inclined to throw his weight around" when they first arrived.

[6] Goodenough (1949) is apparently one of the few anthropologists to discuss the relation between extra-marital sexual activity and the opportunities provided by the nature of the physical environment. The point here is slightly different; whether the Tiwi physical environment encourages adultery is uncertain since a social system such as theirs would promote adultery whatever the physical environment, but it certainly helps to increase the suspiciousness of husbands.

[7] That seduction has to be a daytime activity is implied in what has already been said. After sundown the women are concentrated in their husband's camp and have no opportunity. Which

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leads to the situation—quite foreign to our way of thought and also apparently to that of Polynesian cultures—whereby a young bachelor can prowl around the bush all night without arousing the slightest interest but his daytime wanderings, ostensibly in search of game, are watched by his married seniors with the deepest suspicion.

[8] The buffalo, which are confined to Melville Island, are the wild descendants of domestic East Asian water buffalo which were imported during an early attempt at settlement.

[9] It is perhaps not without interest that one of Tip's jokes is imperishably preserved in the files of the Peabody Museum at Harvard. Tip was in Darwin in 1927 when W. Lloyd Warner was collecting at the Native Compound the anthropometric measurements which were afterwards analyzed by W. W. Howells (1937), and like all other natives in town from many tribes he and a number of Tiwi were measured by Warner. On the card for each subject Warner wished to record the personal name of the native. Led by Tip, all the Tiwi measured bestowed upon themselves the most obscene "native name" they could think of, and years later Tip would shout with laughter when telling how Warner faithfully recorded these obscenities, often repeating them several times to make sure of the correct pronunciation.

[10] This set of sentiments surrounding Tip's wife also gives a little more insight into the sex activities of Louis. His reluctance to move in on her, because of the way "the old men would feel," while showing no such reluctance to move in on Mrs. Bob, supports the view implied above that Louis, while sex dominated, was no fool in his amours. He had an intelligent and realistic appreciation of just how much he could get away with.

[11] I use this slang term deliberately, since it expresses somewhat the Tiwi attitude toward those young bachelors who go about seducing the wives of their elders and betters.

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